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COBBETT-CORN.

Farnham, 7. May, 1834.

I FIND that ~~part~~ ~~part~~ ~~part~~ of my quantity of seed; and I beg of my friends, or of any gentleman who saved some of my corn this last year, who can spare it, to forward me a little to Bolt-court, without delay. I shall want in the whole, three bushels of ears, at the least; but any quantity will be very gratefully received, only it must come as quickly as possible.

MY HEALTH.

BETTER; but slow work. They say "slow and sure"; and if this be as sure as it is slow, it will be a very fine affair. Of all the mortifications which this ailment has occasioned me, none equals that of compelling me to be absent from the discussion on Mr. HARVEY's motion; which, taken altogether, is by far the most interesting thing which has taken place since the reform of the Parliament.

PENSION FIGHT.

LET me first give the history of it. Mr. HARVEY, member for COLCHESTER, on the 5. of May, made a motion for an address to his Majesty, "praying that he would be graciously pleased to direct inquiry to be made into the consideration of each pension, as it appears in the list ordered to be printed by his faithful Commons, on August 28, 1833, with a view to be assured that

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" such persons only are in the receipt of the public money, as have just claims on the royal munificence, either by services rendered to the crown, the performance of duties to the public, by useful discoveries in science, or by attainments in literature and the arts, which have deserved the consideration of their Sovereign, and the gratitude of their country."

After Mr. HARVEY's speech, and a speech from Lord ALTHORP, Mr. STRUTT moved an amendment in the following words: "That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the expenditure charged upon the civil list, and the consolidated fund, in order to ascertain the real extent of any abuses which may exist, with a view to give full effect to the resolutions of the House, passed on the 18. of February last."

When the House divided on Mr. HARVEY's motion, there were

Noes	390
Ayes	148

Majority against the motion 242

When it divided upon Mr. STRUTT's motion, there were

Noes	311
Ayes	230

Majority against it 181

There! That is a true account of the reformed Parliament. Now the public know exactly what it is. Before the Parliament was reformed, and the nation was petitioning for a reform of the Parliament, these petitions always stated what the petitioners wanted the reform FOR; and no petition ever presented for a reform of the Parliament omitted to pray for "an abolition of all sine-cures, and of all pensions not merited by well-known public services." The language of these petitions was this: "Your petitioners humbly pray that your honourable House will be pleased

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"to originate, or give your assent to, laws for abolishing sinecures, pensions, and grants, not fully merited by well-known public services." This was the language of every petition of the years 1816 and 1817, praying for a reform of the Parliament.

To be sure, the people did not want the reform of the Parliament for nothing: they did not want a reform of the Parliament merely to hear a TALK about corporation and poor-laws and church-rate and tithe-law and local-court-law and courtesy-of-England law: the people did not want a reformed Parliament merely to get a *talk* about these things. They did not want a reform of the Parliament to transfer the church-rates to the land-tax; and so make the people of Scotland and Ireland pay the church-rates of England. They did not want a reform of the Parliament, in order to get an additional eight hundred thousand pounds a year to pay in taxes, and in order to add twenty millions to the enormous and irredeemable debt, for the purpose of giving the West India aristocracy twenty millions to pay off the mortgages upon their estates, while the howl of humanity was set up, and echoed back again from the cracked-skull county of York. These are not the things that the people wanted a reformed Parliament for. They did not want a reformed Parliament for the sake of hearing the *Althorpian* hum about liberality towards the Dissenters, while he discovers the intention of the Government not to give up one inch in favour of those Dissenters; but, on the contrary, develops scheme after scheme, contrivance after contrivance, for preserving to the church, that is to say, to the aristocracy, every bit of power and property which they now enjoy. In short, the people did not want a reformed Parliament, in order to have exhibited to them a sort of cajolery, in which Whig and Tory should unite, or should divide, as occasion might serve, in order to keep on extracting the same sums from the pockets of the people.

Of one thing the people thought they were certain; and that was, of the de-

molition of this odious pension list. They thought that they were *sure of that!* They thought, to be sure, that a reformed Parliament never could suffer that to exist for one month. Nineteen-twentieths of the members, I believe, were pledged to it; but, indeed, it was a thing looked forward to with so much certainty, that there could not be said to be any doubt upon the subject. Yet we see the result; and who is to expect otherwise, when you consider the way in which the people have exercised their right of election. If men have chosen a man to represent them who is himself a pensioner, or who lives on the taxes, can they complain if that man vote against a motion like that of Mr. HARVEY?

One thing the people will have remarked upon this occasion; namely, the open, the visible, the acknowledged, the predetermined, and the *justified*, union of the two old parties, against the motion of Mr. HARVEY. It was always foreseen by me, and I foretold it in all my lectures in the North, previous to the meeting of the reformed Parliament; that, if the Ministers meant to make a real reform, they would have the people and a majority of the House of Commons, and would set their old enemies at defiance; that, if they meant to carry on the system of secret-service-money, *Six-acts*, pensions, and police and standing army, they must be joined by the Tories; that the Ministers must do that which the people wanted to have done, or must unite with the Tories. They have chosen the latter; and, therefore, the reform of the Parliament has effected nothing at all for the people.

This affair of the pensions was the great affair of all; because it is so flagrant; because it is so clear a case; because it is a thing in defence of which no man has a word to say. In the case of the dead-weights; the "fighting" and "bleeding" affair; the "glory" and "Peninsula" affair, there is a *pretence*, at any rate: there is a *something* to say: very little, to be sure; but there is a *something*; but for the female and children pensioners, there is absolutely nothing. The men are in the

same state: they have no more claim than dead BURKE has. This case is so flagrant: it is saying, "We have agreed "to take this money from the working "classes, and to give it to the wives, "widows, daughters, and sons, of the "aristocracy: we have agreed to do this, "because it has been our pleasure to do "it; by the two parties joining together "we have the power to continue to do "it; and we will continue to do it." This is all that they have to say. They do not pretend that the parties deserve it: they do not pretend that they have any claim to it at all, other than that of their will; and upon this point it is, that the "*reformed*" House of Commons have determined, by a majority of *three hundred and ninety!* against *one hundred and forty-eight*, that it will stand by those who thus apply the public money.

A great deal has been said about the comparatively *small amount* of these pensions; but these pensions, to which Mr. HARVEY's motion applied, make but a small part of this branch of waste of the public money. If we take in sinecures, grants, diplomatic pensions, civil retired allowances: if we take in the whole, Irish, Scotch, compensation, four and a half per cent, West India; if we take in the whole, royal family and all, and still allow plenty for every branch of that royal family, we shall find that the amount is upwards of *three millions a year*.

Now, then, Lord ALTHORP, whose "*gentlemanly feeling*" will not suffer him to agree even to *inquire* why these pensions have been granted, has a poor-law project before the House, the adoption of which he represents as absolutely necessary to prevent the poor "*from swallowing up the whole of the property of the country*." Now, mark! The money raised under the name of poor-rates, amounts to about eight millions a year; but, only about *five millions and a half* are actually paid *for relief to the poor*. The rest is laid out for the benefit of the rich, for the building of prisons and bridges; for the *preservation of the game*; and, in fact, not a farthing of it for the relief of the poor. This worthy

man, this honest lord, is afraid that the country will be *devoured* by this relief to the poor; but not at all afraid that it will be devoured by his swarms of pensioners that swallow up nearly as much as the poor! I should like to know why poor-houses are not to be erected for these high-blooded paupers? The poor labourers are to be separated, wives from husbands, lest they should breed. Why not separate these state paupers in the same manner, and for the same purpose?

The people should know that the fine carriages that roll round Hyde Park are filled with these people. They should know to *whom* it is that they *bow*, and be sure that it is not a pauper of their own keeping. But the thing the most necessary to be done is, to make out and to publish an accurate account of all these people, with every particular that can possibly be collected against each name. There have been many lists of the kind published; but never one that has been perfect and intelligent and useful; applicable to practicable purposes. We must come to a settlement with these people. I, for my part, would not only stop their pay, but make them pay up their arrears. Before I go further, let me insert here what Lord ALTHORP, the official defender of these people, had to say in their defence; had to say in defence of the expenditure of one half of the amount of poor-rates. He made two speeches: one after Mr. HARVEY's proposition, and one after the proposition of Mr. STRUTT; and now let us hear what this official defender had to say in defence of this monstrous waste of the public money.

Speech after Mr. Harvey.

"Lord ALTHORP was indistinctly heard, owing to the low tone in which he spoke, and to some occasional interruptions in the gallery, occasioned by the anxiety of strangers to obtain admission. He said that he had opposed the former motion of the hon. and learned Gentleman, and he had great objections to the present one. (Cheers). It appeared to him that the proposition of the hon. and learned



" Gentleman was one which it was utterly impossible that any gentleman could accede to. The proposition was to call on this House to address his Majesty to take away those pensions which his Majesty had confirmed. They were asked to call on the King to do that which no man of gentle-manlike feeling would consent to do, viz. to deprive persons of the pensions which he himself had bestowed. The hon. and learned Gentleman had alluded to a speech which he (Lord Althorp) delivered on a former occasion in relation to this subject. He said then what he was ready to maintain now, which was, that he did think that the Minister who recommended a pension was responsible for such recommendation, and he thought it was perfectly justifiable to call for the list, in case any improper grant had been made. The hon. and learned Gentleman went on to say, that when he (Lord A.) proposed the civil list, he at that time stated that the pension list should be open to inquiry; certainly he did so; but that was only till the list was finally settled. He, at the period referred to, had to ask of the House a vote on credit; it was then necessary for the House to make advances from quarter to quarter. Ultimately, however, they did go into the question; and the House decided that the pensions should be charged on the Consolidated Fund. When they did so, it never entered into his head that this pension list would be opened again. He did feel that persons on the pension list had a right established by custom to be continued on it; and the present Government taking this view, had, when they came into office, recommended that they should be. If the House agreed to the motion—if they agreed to address his Majesty to take the pensions away—they would agree to what was unjust! The honourable and learned Gentleman seemed to expect honourable gentlemen to get up to defend each individual grant; but he (Lord Althorp) did not intend to do any such thing. He did not hold himself re-

" sponsible for the acts of former governments. (Cheers). The first Minister of the Crown was, he admitted, responsible for the pensions having been retained; but he had acted in concurrence with what had been the practice at the commencement of every reign since the Revolution. King William continued the pensions granted by James II. The present motion, then, of the hon. and learned Gentleman, he considered more objectionable than his proposition for an inquiry before a committee of the House. The hon. and learned Gentleman had alluded to an expression made use of by the right hon. Secretary of the Treasury, who had spoken of the desired inquiry as a '*disgusting examination.*' His right hon. Friend did not allude to the cases to be investigated, but to the feeling which he supposed every one would entertain, who of necessity might be engaged in the examination. He (Lord Althorp) thought it could not fail to be a '*disgusting inquiry*' to any gentleman who took a part in it. (Hear, hear). The hon. and learned Gentleman had argued this as a popular topic. He (Lord Althorp) admitted that it was so. (Hear, hear). He was quite aware that persons held pensions who had other public employment; and he was ready to admit that when persons had large property, 'at least (said his lordship, breaking off suddenly), I am sure that if I were in that situation, I would not take the pension.' (Great cheering for a considerable time). He admitted that this was a topic which influenced, considerably, popular feeling; but this was quite beside the question as to the propriety of their taking away that from men to which in their judgment they had a right, the law having established that right. This did not appear to him to be a question requiring any length of argument. It was simply this—would they deprive those who had a legal right to the pensions of that right by a vote of this House? and if they would do that, would they employ, as a medium of doing it, the King who

" had conferred the grants? (Cheering).
" The question lay in a narrow com-
" pass, and it was quite impossible for
" him to sanction such a proposition.
" (Cheers.)"

Speech after Mr. Strutt.

" Lord ALTHORP, though he admitted
" that there was a distinction between
" the original motion and the amend-
" ment, inasmuch as the proposition of
" the honourable Member for Colches-
" ter would go to take away the pen-
" sions, ~~she~~ considered them both ob-
" jectionable. One of the grounds of
" which the inquiry was sought, was
" the excitement of the public mind
" with regard to this question of the
" pension list; and it had been urged,
" that the object was not to deprive the
" holders of pensions of what they re-
" ceived. It was said that the inquiry
" alone would satisfy the public. They
" assumed too much who said this,
" though the honourable Member for
" Derby insisted that the exhibition of
" the gross abuse was all that was
" required. In his (Lord Althorp's)
" opinion, such a result would not be
" satisfactory; nor did he see the ad-
" vantage which would follow the in-
" quiry, if the House would call to its
" recollection who they were who ad-
" vised the crown when the grants com-
" plained of were made. As to what
" had been urged with regard to the ar-
" gument of preventing abuse in future,
" what was said on that head had been
" by anticipation replied to by the reso-
" lution passed on the 18. of February,
" by which a distinct principle was
" acknowledged, and which was not
" admitted in former times. Either as
" to the past or the future, the inquiry
" would be productive of *no benefit*.
" *If the House inquired into the past,*
" *with a view to censure the proceedings,*
" *they should pass censure on the dead,*
" *as the grants were made on the recom-*
" *mendation of persons now in the grave.*
" (Hear, hear). Besides the inutility of
" the inquiry, there was another objec-
" tion which, though it had been ridi-
" culed by the honourable Member for
" Colchester, must still have its weight,

" and that was, *that the investigation*
" *would be calculated to wound the*
" *feelings as well of those who conducted*
" *as of those who were the objects of the*
" *inquiry.* For these reasons then, the
" inutility of the inquiry, and the *un-*
" *necessary pain* it would occasion to
" *individuals*, he should, notwithstanding
" the obloquy which may attach
" out of doors both to himself and those
" who went with him on the question,
" feel himself bound in the exercise of
" his duty to vote against both the
" motion and the amendment."

Now, ~~members~~ of the Register, this is
the defence which the noble and honest
Lord Althorp has to offer for defending
an expenditure of our money,
against which you and I have been
petitioning for more than twenty years.
We complain of the waste of our
money; we complain that our earnings
are taken from us unjustly, to be given
to the aristocracy; we complain that
the working people are reduced to rags,
and to live upon potatoes and garbage;
we assert that this poverty and misery
arise from the tax on their malt, the
tax on their sugar, the tax on their tea,
the tax on all the necessaries of life;
that they arise from these oppressions,
which beggar the farmers and the trades-
men, and disable them from giving due
employment, or from paying due wages.
My Lord ALTHORP brings in a bill to
put a stop to relief being given to the
indigent, and to erect houses to cause
males to be kept from females to pre-
vent them from breeding. He proposes
to overturn the greatest of all the laws
of the kingdom; and imputes to the
labouring people the poverty in which
the kingdom is steeped; proposes,
against all law, all justice, all reason,
to pinch the labouring poor, in order to
relieve the country from its distresses.

In this state of things comes the able,
the acute, the bold, the clever, member
for COLCHESTER; and, as if forgetting,
or resolved to cast aside the wasting of
his precious time and talents, any more
upon the benchers: comes, I say, the
honourable Member for COLCHESTER,
and says: "Stop, my good poor-law-
" projector, and let us, if you please,

" before we proceed to these potato-eating paupers, look a little at those who devour their substance, and cause them to be paupers; and here I find immense sums of money taken from the labour of these poor people, amounting, in the first list that I lay hold of, *to more than the whole of the poor-rates of Bedfordshire and Berkshire*; let us, my noble Honesty, if you please, inquire what right these people have to swallow up the amount of the poor-rates of these two counties? Your colleague, Sir JAMES GRAHAM, proved to us, while he was out of office, that a hundred and thirteen of the aristocracy swallowed up, annually, six hundred and fifty thousand pounds. That alone is a sum equal to the whole amount of the poor-rates of *Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, and Cheshire*! Yes: only a hundred and thirteen of them swallow up as much as the poor-rates of these five counties; and yet, according to you, the nation is beggared solely by the poor people, who cannot get work, or who are afflicted with age or infirmities! Now, then, my good LORD HONESTY, I propose to you, that we should inquire into the justice and propriety of giving all this public money to these aristocratical families; that we should inquire into the grounds upon which this money is given to them."

Such is the proposition of the Member for COLCHESTER; and what is the answer of noble *Honesty*? Why, this: "That no man of *gentlemanlike* feeling could consent to the proposition; that the persons on the pension list had *a right by custom*, to be continued on it; that he was not called upon to defend the propriety of the grants of these pensions; that the motion would lead to a *disgusting examination*; that, for his part, he thought that no 'gentleman' would like to be concerned in the inquiry; that, if the House inquired into the past, they would pass censure *on the dead*; that the investigation must *hurt the feelings* of those who were the objects of

" the inquiry; and that, finally, such inquiry must give *unnecessary pain* to the *individuals* who were the objects of it."

This was the defence set up by the official defender! This was the answer to the famous speech of the honourable Member for COLCHESTER, who has now answered the BENCHERS in the best possible manner! What! and is this all that is to be said in justification of the squandering of about three millions of money every year? For, observe, Mr. HARVEY took hold of only one little branch of this enormous tree. Is this the answer to the honourable Member for COLCHESTER? Oh! oh! "*Gentlemanly feeling*," is it! There is much "*gentlemanly feeling*" to be sure, in proposing that a poor man, who is destitute of work and of food, because these cormorants have beggared his master; there is much "*gentlemanly feeling*," in refusing him relief from starvation; and also a great deal of "*gentlemanly feeling*" in proposing forcibly to keep poor husbands from their wives to prevent them from breeding; also a precious deal of "*gentlemanly feeling*" in an abolition of the laws of bastardy, so as to produce forcible abortion, and infanticide by intention. This is very "*gentlemanly feeling*," without doubt. In short, this answer was worse than silence itself: it was every thing that was bad, and every thing that was foolish, every thing that was, at once, brazen and childish. There was the orator, knowing that he was supported by Tories, and relying on that support, setting the people at defiance.

However, this motion of Mr. HARVEY has disclosed the intentions; disclosed the whole of the policy of this miserable Ministry, who, it is now clear, intend to do nothing effectual in the reform of the corporations; in the reform of the church; in the reform of any thing. Hampered with the Tories; hampered with the Lords, they can do nothing at all against the will of these two, or of either of these, without having the whole of the people at their back; and they have *none* of the people at their back. They had the serious

part of the Dissenters. They have now deceived them, and they will be trusted by them no more. They pretend that they *never expected to hear of a separation between church and state.* What might their wisdoms expect to hear? For, short of this, what can they do for Dissenters, or for church-people either? It appears that Lord WALSINGHAM, for instance, is one of Mr. HARVEY's *pensioners for six hundred a year!* This *Lord* has *three church livings* in Hampshire. He is *Archdeacon of Surrey*; and, in that capacity, is *owner of the great tithes* of the parishes of FRENSHAM, of ELSTEAD, of SEAL, of TONGHAM, of the great parish of FARNHAM, and of the great parish of BENTLEY; all this within my own knowledge; and yet he is *one of Mr. Harvey's pensioners for six hundred a year!* And yet Lord *Honesty* says, that he has a *right* to the pension, and says that no man of "*gentlemanlike feeling*" would even inquire into the grounds of his having this pension; and this the noble *Honesty* says, at the very moment that he is denying the right of the labouring man to have a maintenance out of the land on which he was born, and on which he has laboured all his life! Well said, **HONESTY!**

In short, this discussion, and this result, fix the character of this Whig Ministry and the reformed House of Commons. In other cases there might be room for dispute: there might be allowances to be made; time might be wanted to bring things a little about; but, if this reformed Parliament is not able to lop off pensions, sinecures, and grants, not merited by well-known public services, this reformed Parliament is not what this nation wanted.

Of Mr. HARVEY I would say, if I could, what I feel; but I cannot: his conduct is beyond all praise: the manner, as well as the matter, of his proceeding was so excellent. Lord *Honesty* seemed to complain of Mr. HARVEY for taking advantage of this "*popular topic*." Had he not a right to do it? Was he to take a topic that the people did not understand? was he, in order to accommodate this Whig Ministry, to fix upon

something that might be mystified or bothered at their pleasure? Oh! wicked and malicious man! to take hold of something that the people understood well; and to disturb the sleep of so many sweet ladies! Ah! all these wailings will have no effect: the motion has been made, and made in earnest; the effect has been produced; and to rub out that effect is not in the power of the Whigs.

One other thing has been brought to light by this motion, and placed beyond all doubt; namely, that the Whig and Tory parties have come to a *clear understanding*; and that that understanding is, that they shall *stand by each other* upon all occasions, when any part of the *system* is in danger. This is now manifest. The Tories if they could come in would be afraid to come in. They would rather that the Whigs should remain until they can make a junction, which I think it is likely they will attempt very soon; for this must be the case in effect, in order to resist the Dissenters. The miserable tithe-bill, the church-rate bill, the marriage bill: all these are only so many attempts to amuse the Dissenters; to put off the evil for the present; and to hatch some mode of defeating them altogether. At last, it must come, however, to open hostility; and then we shall see the two parties join. This, I take it, will be the result; and then comes the second chapter of Parliamentary reform. Again, however, I thank Mr. HARVEY; and the country have to thank him, for this above all other things, that he has now laid this Whig Ministry bare; and that he has exhibited its *honesty* stark naked, before the eyes of the whole nation.

A GREAT DEAL BETTER;

AND, I do believe, produced, in some measure, by reading the following paragraph in an American newspaper last night:

(*From the New York Commercial Advertiser.*)

"It will be seen, from the interview "between General Jackson and the

" Delaware committee, that he had " adopted the opinions of the notorious " Cobbett, and had determined to apply " them to the commerce and institu- " tions of the United States. We have " in our possession *two letters addressed* " *by the arch-radical to General Jackson*, in October and November last, " in which he extols to the skies the " measure of removing the deposits, and " recommends the very course which the " President expressed his determination " to the committee to follow. Should " he succeed in the 'experiment' which " he resolved to try, of BREAKING " ALL THE COUNTRY BANKS, " we may consider ourselves as not hav- " ing yet a tithe of our thick-coming " distress. The very avowal of such a " determination, on the part of any " other man than Andrew Jackson, " would be regarded with dismay and " horror in every section of the country. " His political life cannot extend to " more than three years longer, and yet " he is resolved to try an 'experiment' " that must involve a whole people in " ruin and desolation for ages to come."

This is taken from a newspaper devoted to the paper-swindlers of NEW YORK: hence the " notorious Cobbett," and the " arch-radical." Oh! my God! how great is the pleasure which I derive from the thought of having been able to disturb this band of robbers! It is sufficient, to use the words of MILTON, " to create a soul under the ribs of death." That I, sitting at BOLT-COURT, should be able to trouble these robbers; these plunderers of the working classes; these bands of miscreants, who have brought the happy Government of America into jeopardy, and who have stripped thousands and hundreds of thousands of farmers of their farms, and made misery reign in a country, which I knew so abounding with happiness! What pleasure, what pride, do I feel, what a guarantee for immortality; what a disregard for what becomes of this body, when I witness these effects of the emanations of my mind!

However, this base, lying, fraudulent, and swindling newspaper, grossly misrepresents here. It appears that a depu-

tation from the State of DELAWARE had waited upon the President, to paint their distresses to him; and he, it seems, told them his ultimate intentions. These intentions this scoundrel finds to square with my advice to the President, or rather, with my principles upon the subject; and thereupon it asserts, that he is acting, and is resolved to act, on the advice contained in my two letters. This is intended to throw odium upon him, as being guided by me. But, the truth is, he is acting upon his *own principles*, which he laid down so fully, and so ably, in his veto message.

But, is it for the *occasion* that I have written now upon the subject? Quite the contrary. I wrote just the same at the time when the Bank of the United States was about to be established. A reference to the *Register of 1816* will show, that I then proved, first, that such a Bank was a violation of the constitution of the United States; that it must lead to the creation of a most dangerous aristocracy; that it must destroy the happy mediocrity of fortune and of means in the United States; that it must destroy the happy freedom of elections; and, finally, that it must destroy the republican Government of America. This was what I wrote before the Bank was established. God in his goodness has raised up a man to seize the monster by the throat before it has quite accomplished all this; but look at the country at this moment; behold it to be a question whether there shall be a total revolution or not: see the monster struggling to stifle industry, and hold its ill-gotten power; behold neighbour against neighbour, employer against workman: look at a hundred and twenty banks actually broken, and the note-holders in part ruined: look at nineteen banks broken in PENNSYLVANIA alone: judge of the ruin that has taken place, and of the greater ruin that is yet to come. Look at all this; then look at my protest against the establishment of this Bank, before the Bank was established, and say whether my opinions be not worthy the attention of even this greatest of men, the President of the United States.

But, look at a paragraph farther on in this *Register*, where you will find that hellish Bank is now sustained, according to the American accounts, by whom, think you? By the *English aristocracy!* By *English dukes, earls, and so forth*, who are the principal stock-holders of this most monstrous institution. The amount of their sinecures, pensions, and grants, goes to uphold this monster in the overturning of the liberties of America! Curious process! Thus are taxes squeezed out of the industry of England, sent across the Atlantic to root out liberty in that country! Ought a damnable thing like this to exist? And ought we not to rejoice at the prospect of its being utterly destroyed?

It appears to me that the President is disposed totally to destroy the paper-money; and this will soon be done by the constant breaking of the country banks. People will soon cease to touch their notes. Silver will get into plentiful circulation. Fifty thousand failures of merchants and traders will take place; but that is not a country where starvation follows failure. Business will resume its usual course in hard money; the swindlers will disappear by degrees, or become a sort of beggars; and, at last, nothing will remain of banks but their execrated memory. Then there will be one country fit for a man to live in; then there will be one country where villains who live by sleight-of-hand are no longer to suck up the fruits of industry. Only think of the *English aristocracy* being the supporters of this infernal Bank, which is waging war against the Government, the President, and the people of America! Only think of that. The last war was intended to destroy the constitution of America: that war was intended to root out the last of free institutions; but fleets and armies were nothing, when compared with English taxes, applied to the creating and upholding of an infernal Bank, the inevitable tendency of which is totally to destroy the liberties of that country.

However, liberty is safe in the hands of the people of America; and I am im-

patient that they do not dethrone NICHOLAS BIDDLE and fling him out into the street, and tear his bank all to pieces. The people must, at last, actually put down these swindlers by force: I think it must come to this; for it is an evil too great to be abated, without recourse to physical force: this Bank and its adherents are guilty of treason: they have been committing treason for a long while: they are conspiring with foreigners to destroy the constitution; and the people are justified in rising upon them, resisting them, and putting them down; and that they will do this is my most sincere wish: to suffer the last remains of liberty to be extinguished by bands of contemptible robbers like these would be a shame indeed.

In another part of the *Register* there is an address to me from the people of HULL, to which I beg them to accept the following answer:

Normandy Farm, 8. May, 1834.

GENTLEMEN,—You will be sorry to hear that your address finds me in a state of health which makes me unable to attend to my duties in Parliament. Still that state is such as to give me leave to hope, that I shall be able with safety to resume those duties before the close of the present session.

The subjects which you have chosen, whereon to bestow your praise upon my efforts, show that your judgment is equal to your zeal and your gratitude. I apprehend with you great danger to the liberties of the country; I see all in commotion; I see power every where on the side of oppression; I see very great difficulty in the people maintaining anything like their rights. I see in this *reform of the Parliament*, as it is called, no reform at all. The result of the motion of Mr. HARVEY has put this matter beyond all doubt.

Still, however, I see, and you must see, THAT THINGS CANNOT LONG REMAIN AS THEY ARE. A resolution "that tithes shall no longer be collected"; a resolution that the church-rates shall be transferred to the general mass of taxes; the

manifest fear of refusing the claims of the Dissenters; the wild and revolutionary project relative to the poor-laws: all these prove that things cannot go on in the present way for any length of time.

Therefore, I am by no means out of heart. I know that there must be a change, and a very great change; and I know that that change must be for the good of the people.

Gentlemen, I have to repeat to you my best thanks for your very kind address; and I give you my solemn assurance that, as long as life and health permit, you will always find me that which has now drawn forth your valuable and most highly estimated praise; and

I remain
Your most obedient
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

To the Members of the Society
of Liberals, Hull.

TO WILLIAM COBBETT,
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR OLDHAM,
AND ONE OF THE REAL REPRESENTA-
TIVES OF THE PEOPLE.

SIR,—We, the members of the Society of Liberals at Hull, conceiving it due from the people of this country that they should acknowledge any benefits they receive from those, who, in the House of Commons, stand forward to assert their rights, would, on the re-assembling of Parliament, express our acknowledgments to you.

We have seen with disgust, that, in a House of Commons vaunting itself reformed, in a time of peace, and when the Ministers through the King have declared, that the country is upon terms of amity with its neighbours; at a time also, when the repeal of oppressive taxation is loudly demanded, and the admission made by our liberal-professing administration, that the remission of certain taxes ought to take place; that the most enormous grants for our military and naval establishments, are proposed with unblushing effrontery; and that a majority of the members of

the House, regardless of the pledge they gave to their constituents, consent, by their votes, that these grants shall be made without reduction. For the part you have taken in opposing, especially, the army estimates, we conceive you to be entitled to the gratitude of the nation, and we would tender our thanks to you, for the stand which you, in conjunction with others (among whom we are proud to count Mr. HURR, the member for this town), have made on these subjects. We would especially place upon record, as eminently deserving approbation, your manly and determined conduct in dividing the House upon the question of granting half-pay to disbanded foreign officers.

The Ministry we have seen descend to acts worthy the school of CASTLE-REAGH. A system of espionage was about to be introduced into this country; and, had it not been for your great and laborious exertions in the notorious case of POPAY the spy, and for the triumphant exposure you then made of the intentions of Government in this respect, we doubt not they would have succeeded in establishing a reign of terror so complete that no man would have been able to trust his neighbour. As it is, we fear that they have, to some considerable extent, succeeded in finding men base enough to play the spy to serve their ends, and by mingling in the associations of their fellow men, prevent the reasonable demands of the people being granted.

With intense and painful interest we have watched the conduct of the Government with respect to the Dorchester Unionists, and generally towards the Trades' Unions of this country; and, from what we have seen developed of the intentions of the Government, we do not hesitate to say, that, unless they are closely watched and their measures thoroughly investigated, it will be found that they meditate some dangerous blow at the liberty of the subject. Here we would have them beware. The ebullition of feeling in favour of the condemned Dorchester victims is such as we trust will cause them to pause ere they proceed to ulterior measures, which

must draw down upon them the indignation of the labouring population.

In thus advocating the cause of these men, we do it perfectly disinterestedly. Many of us are in the situation of masters employing several workmen, and we are not aware that any of our members are connected with an union.

Your eminent foresight, and the knowledge which you possess on the subject adverted to, we doubt not, sir, will enable you to see much farther into the intentions and motives of the men composing the Government than we can. That such foresight and knowledge will be exerted in behalf of the people of England we doubt not; our hope is, that the Government may be induced to lend an ear to your warnings; and that they may, before too late, profit by and adopt the counsel you shall give them; and our prayer is, that you may long be spared so to counsel and warn them.

JOHN PECK, Chairman.

THOS. LARARD, Treasurer.

WM. NOBLE, Secretary.

Hull, 21. April, 1834.

EXTRACT FROM MR. HARVEY'S SPEECH.

I HAVE not room for the whole of this speech; but I insert a portion of it, which I recommend to the attention of my readers.

His object was to come at a full understanding of the terms, and condition, and foundation of each grant; he would seriously put it to the administration, that distillation of Whigism—(a laugh) whether they were really determined to risk what character they had in defending a pension list which had called forth an expression of disgust and abhorrence from every man who read it. (Hear, hear). Would the reform Ministry sacrifice the character they had earned, and shadow the benefits they had conferred on the people by standing forth as the champions of a set of pensioners, about whom the only difficulty was to say whose claims were the most suspicious or unfounded in justice. (Hear, hear). The hon. Member for Oxford had

said that the service of any committee appointed to investigate this subject would be so disgusting that a man of honour would shrink from undertaking it. (Hear). This was no great compliment to the names on the list, some of them the fairest and highest names in the country. (Hear, hear). The difficulties which had been objected to his former motion were obviated in the present one. The advisers of the crown were responsible for the pensions; they could surely not refuse to have those pensions investigated, for they could have no personal motives to prevent them; and it would be a great satisfaction to the people and the House to see that Ministers were not in this matter taking too much responsibility on themselves. (Hear, and a laugh). Besides this, he was pretty sure that not above ten per cent. of the amount of these pensions would bear scrutiny, and thus, if justice were done, the rest of the money would become a fund at the disposal of Ministers. Perhaps, however, they would not like to seem eager after having this at their disposal, for they have been so often taunted with panting after every possible place and pension for themselves and their friends, that possibly they would object to subjecting themselves to any additional reflections. (Hear, hear). If they would undertake it, however, the chances were that out of the 144,000*l.*, 120,000*l.* might very justly be made to revert to the Government. Any person who ran his eye over the list must be struck with the obnoxious description of most of the pensions: it would be injudicious in him to refer to any one particular name in the list, as he might thereby run the very great chance of a division of opinions in that House, for it would be impossible to name any individual out of the 1,300 in the list, in whose favour some honourable Member or other would not start up, declaring that "however disgraceful the list in the case of every other pensioner, yet in the instance of the individual alluded to in so unhandsome a manner (a laugh), if any man ever deserved a signal reward at the hands of his country, that was the

"man," (a laugh), and so on through the whole list: collectively, all would be protested against, individually all would be defended: the affecting tale of the Miss Gossets would be adopted as the model by the defenders of each lady and gentleman pensioner. (Hear, and a laugh). But it might be necessary to mention a few of the "leading particulars." They were about to enter deeply into the poor-law system; they were about to bring in a bill, and were determined to maintain its soundest details; yet while they declared that, after a given day, no person who had been a recipient of parish bounty should continue to receive it unless he could make out that he was deserving, how could they justify to themselves the preservation of the pension list? (Cheers). The pauper might have received the parish money for a long time, he might almost have run a race with the venerable in this list (laughter); yet he was to be told that he had no longer any right to consideration; he was to be informed that he had no vested rights. It was only your venerable dowagers, your flitting shadows of fashion, the fair and seductive forms (hear, and laughter), who presented themselves on this list, and whose only recommendation was that they were of retired habits and unknown; it was only for such as these that they had any sympathy. (Vehement cries of No, no, and cheering). Why, it was a disgrace to the country, and must bring down on the parties themselves the deepest condemnation, if any individual was found on this list who had a relation who, with wealth at his command, nevertheless suffered his relative to remain thus a burden on the country. (Loud cries of hear, hear, hear). We had laws by which we could compel the son, if he should so far forget the everlasting obligations of his nature, to support his father, and even his grandfather. We could bring such an individual by summons before the quarter-sessions, where he (Mr. D. W. Harvey) knew orders were often made for children and grandchildren, out of their small earnings, to support those who had supported them in the hour of

their helplessness. Why should not the same principle be put in force against the parties on this list? (Cheers). He was the last man who would deny that there might be some on the list who might have been fair objects of the royal bounty, having been recommended by their indigence as well as their worth; but who would deny that there were others also, who owed their being there to the perseverance of their applications, or to the accident of their relationship or connexion? And in this respect his present motion had an advantage over the motion he originally made on the subject, which was for the appointment of a committee. The course he now proposed would be adopted by the crown acting under the advice of the present administration, and would come, therefore, with more force than would the strongest resolution of a committee of the House. He had been looking at the list, and he had been picking up such information as he could get respecting it, in order that he might submit it to their consideration. He could assure the House that this motion had been no sinecure to him, either as regarded the examination he had made of the dull speeches that had been delivered on the subject, or as respected his reading and answering the almost boundless communications with which he had been favoured. (A laugh). In one he was told that, "In going through the list he would find many favoured pluralists. " Many were in the public service, and, "in addition to their pensions, were receiving emoluments on that account. " There were others whose pensions "ought surely to have ceased when they became otherwise provided for, as in the case of their obtaining fortunes by birth or by marriage." Such were the remarks that accompanied one communication. The hon. Member then read the following statement and list:

The following list will enumerate some of the favoured enjoying pensions, who are pluralists by holding situations under Government. It will designate many who have never performed any public services, and consequently obtained their emoluments from Court or

Ministerial patronage. It will also point out those whose pensions should have ceased when otherwise provided for by marriage or inheritance. The noblesse, whose poverty has arisen from their forefathers' extravagance, may claim assistance from their own order, but can have no right to be quartered on the revenues of the country.

"Lord Aylmer's pension is 35*l.* per annum. He is a Captain-General of Canada (some thousands a year), and Colonel of the 18th Foot." Now, he asked whether that was true. He wished for an answer, aye or no. A word from his Majesty would stop this pension.

"Lord Aston has good church ferment, besides a good private fortune." Was that true? His lordship's pension was very small; but then it was the more contemptible in him to receive it. (Hear, hear). Nothing, however, was too small for the pensioners to grasp at. Some persons in the list received in dribs and drabs five or six pensions of 50*l.* Such persons were always at the elbow of the Minister or the Monarch, and their importunities were not unfrequently bought off by a pension. Lord Aston condescended to receive 97*l.* out of the labour of the working classes. (Hear, hear).

"Lord Auckland is Master of the Mint, President of the Board of Trade, and Commissioner of Greenwich Hospital; his pension is 300*l.* per annum, which he foregoes whilst holding his present offices. Lord Auckland did not receive his pension whilst he was in office, and he wished that principle to be applied to all pension-receivers. If they derived a good income from other sources, they ought not to receive their pensions. He would not then stop to ask what was done with the amount of Lord Auckland's pension whilst it was in abeyance, but he did not recollect that any reduction was made from the last grant on that account. (Hear, and a laugh).

"Sir John de Blaquiere enjoys a pension of 1,072*l.*, and again, as Baron, of 893*l.* 13*s.*" This was a monstrous case. Sir John received

his first pension in 1794, and having served an apprenticeship of eight years, he was raised to the peerage, and received 893*l.* 13*s.* a year more. (Hear, hear).

"Lord Bloomfield is colonel of a battalion of artillery, and has 936*l.* "16*s.* per annum." No doubt a whole host of members would rise in their places to eulogise this noble Lord, and to express their regret that he had not received some more solemn and substantial mark of his country's approbation.

"Charles Oldfield Bowes, and Elizabeth his wife, have a pension of 192*l.* He was a private secretary to Mr. Goulburn for a short time. (Hear, hear). He is colonel of the Oxford Militia, from possessing a large property in the county." He supposed the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge would by-and-by favour the House with a biographical sketch of this happy couple. (A laugh). It would be observed, that he mentioned the names of no person who were not likely to have some friend in the House to speak in their behalf.

"Sir Henry Brown has 200*l.* per annum, and 200*l.* more, as Thomas Henry Brown. He is on half-pay of the 23rd Foot." His rewarded services consisted in having been the aide-de-camp to the present Lord Londonderry (hear, and a laugh), when ambassador at Vienna, and he was sent to Milan on the delicate mission of gaining information relative to the conduct of Queen Caroline. (Hear, hear). He never before knew the value of a title; but it was clear that the being made "Sir" was worth 200*l.* a year to Mr. Brown. He was desired to refer any person who wished to know how well this gentleman had earned his pension, to the trial of the Queen.

"The Earl of Cavan has a regiment, and is a governor besides. He has 226*l.* a year."

"The Baroness Cathcart, wife of Lord Cathcart (he is colonel of the 2nd Regiment of Life Guards, 1,800*l.* per annum; and a retiring pension, from having been ambassador and

"governor of Hull), enjoys a pension."

"Dowager Lady Clare has 780*l.*, the widow of the late ex-chancellor.

"The Marchioness of Carmarthen, 700*l.* Her husband is heir to the dukedom of Leeds."

"Marianna Cockburn, sister to Viscount Hereford, 115*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*; the wife of Sir James Cockburn, who has 1,000*l.* per annum as inspector of the Marines. She and her four sisters had pensions granted of 115*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, when young, but it never was contemplated that on their marriage these pensions should continue." This was a case which came within the principle he had laid down, that pensions should be superseded on the success of the receivers of them in other departments. (A laugh).

"Juliana Maria Eyre, is another sister, a widow, with a good jointure of 600*l.* a year.

"Georgiana Maria Gwynne, another sister.

"Charlotte Wellington, another sister; and

"Catherine Eliza Watkins, the fifth married sister, lately married (from her widowhood) to R. Stretton, Esq., High Sheriff this year for Breconshire; her former husband left her 2,000*l.* a year jointure.

"Lord Elphinstone has 138*l.*; also 276*l.* 10*s.*, and again 138*l.*

"Eliza Mackenzie and Ruth Elphinstone, 276*l.* 10*s.*

"The Eden family have 407*l.* per annum.

"Mary Gwynne, the widow of General Gwynne, has a pension; she besides receives 400*l.* pension.

"The Earl of Howe is too wealthy a nobleman to receive 276*l.* per annum. 'This is too bad.'

"Viscount Hereford receives 115*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, which was granted to him at the same time similar annuities were granted to his five sisters. What makes this case most glaring, is, that he inherits also his father's pension of 467*l.* He has two seats in Wales, Fregoyd ancribba; and lately bought of the Crown a manor adjoining the

"town of Hay, thereby extending his own grouse manors.

"Thomas Knox Holmes (hear, hear), 500*l.*" This was the only case in which the paper he was reading from stated the consideration for which the pension was granted. It was stated to be given to Mr. Holmes, as son of the whipper-in of the late administration (a laugh); and he (Mr. Harvey) could honestly say, that a more faithful whipper-in Government never had. (A laugh).

"Sir Herbert Taylor is the Colonel of the 85th regiment, notwithstanding he has 930*l.* pension.

"Sir William Johnstone, 714*l.* per annum: a rich baronet.

"Lieutenant-General Knollis, 400*l.* per annum: he receives, besides a Lieutenant-General's pay, and is also Governor of Limerick." (A member on the Treasury Bench said, He is dead.) "That," rejoined Mr. Harvey, "is the best thing that can be said of him." (A laugh).

"The Rev. William Kupar, 400*l.* 15*s.*: a chaplain to the German Chapel.

"Dame Fanny Lushington, 350*l.* per annum, and the Honourable Anne Lushington, 624*l.* per annum, and her four children." A governorship in India ought to satisfy the Lushington family, who have enjoyed good situations for so many years.

"George Leigh, and Mary his wife, 700*l.*; he was a personal friend of the late King, and commanded the 10th Light Dragoons." This is a pension extraordinaire.

"The Earl of Minto, an ambassador, 924*l.*

"Lady Louisa Murray." Of this lady he would say nothing, because her husband had been successful in another place. (Cheers and laughter).

"Lord Montford, 467*l.*; ditto, 155*l.*

"Lord Strangford condescended to take a pension of 85*l.* (Hear, hear). He has the retiring pension of an ambassador, 2,000*l.* per annum: Maria Dowager Strangford has a pension of 233*l.*; ditto, 266*l.*"

"Lady Ann Culling Smith, 600*l.*,

"sister to the Duke of Wellington ; her husband a rich man."

"Sir Simeon Stuart, 200*l.* ; a rich baronet, who never performed any public service."

"Lieutenant-Colonel Meyrick Shaw, 500*l.* ; ditto, 499*l.*" He was private secretary to the Marquis Wellesley, in India, and also in Ireland. One pension would be adequate. He is now employed again.

"The Earl of Tyrconnel, 600*l.* ; ditto, 445*l.*" He married Miss Crow, of Kiplin Park, Yorkshire, a very rich heiress. (Hear).

"Thomas Lord Walsingham, a dignitary of Winchester Cathedral ; he has 636*l.* per annum.

"Lady Matilda Wynyard, 467*l.* ; the wife of General Wynyard."

"Sir F. Watson, 936*l.*"

"Emily Marchioness of Westmeath, sister of the Marquis of Salisbury, and wife of the Marquis of Westmeath ; cannot expect to be supported by the public. She has 386*l.* per annum."

"The Rev. Alexander Sterkey, the Swiss minister, 400*l.* 15*s.*"

PAPER-MONEY WAR IN THE UNITED STATES.

(From the *New York Working Man's Advocate*, 29 March, 1834.)

BRITISH BANK PARTY.—FOREIGN CAPITAL.

FROM the documents published by order of Congress, we learn that EIGHT MILLIONS and upwards of the stock of the United States Bank is owned by *British dukes, earls, baronets, and other aristocrats*. Taking this fact in connexion with another remarkable feature in the conduct of the Bank party, it shows an intention, half revealed and half hidden, which is sufficient to make every independent man pause and reflect on the present political crisis. The directors and managers of a great monied institution are but the agents of the stockholders : they are influenced by their views, animated by their spirit,

prejudiced by their prejudices, and imbued by their intentions. This is as natural as that the clap of thunder should follow the flash of lightning. Accordingly, we see the Bank party, in taking the lead of all the other fragments of the opposition, manifest a more aristocratic tendency in its views and purposes than any party before ever dared to exhibit in this country. This, however, it is attempted to conceal under the cry of *foreign capital*, the *value* of foreign capital, the folly of refusing it. Well, what is foreign capital ? When the free spirit of our fathers, in 1776, resolved to throw off the shackles of foreign tyranny, there was quite as great a cry made in favour of foreign capital, and the advantages of a foreign connexion. The Tory party of that day was as noisy about foreign capital as are the Bank party of our day. They had reason to be so. The old colonial aristocratic Government spent immense sums upon the country ; they brought into it plenty of foreign capital, as fertilizing, as useful, as beneficial, as the present foreign capital of the United States Bank. Were the great fathers of the revolution blind to these advantages ? Did they not feel, and see, and appreciate, the usefulness of foreign capital ? They did. Why, then, did they not act upon the paltry brokers' arguments about the value of foreign capital ? Because they were made of sterner stuff than modern patriots.

The men of the revolution did not hesitate a moment to choose between *liberty* and *foreign capital* : they broke the shackles of foreign *tyranny*, at the risk of losing the foreign *capital*. They did not balance in their minds the profits of foreign capital with the price of liberty. Our revolutionary fathers were clear-sighted, virtuous, brave, prompt, and unhesitating. The question presented to them was liberty or slavery, self-government or political vassalage, native frugality or *foreign capital*. Money, wealth, power, everything was to be lavished upon the colonies, if they would only deign to part with their darling liberties. They spurned the bribe ; they dashed the foreign capital

to the ground ; they decided the question like freemen. They unsheathed the sword ; they fought the battle ; they drove the enemy across the ocean, and in a few years they obtained liberty, commerce, honour, wealth, and capital, by their own efforts and their own toils.

At the end of half a century we have the question presented to us in a new dress ; the same demand in a more insidious tone. The Bank of the United States is the *modern* colonial government of British capitalists and British nobility. They have their viceroy and privy council, occupying a princely palace, in Chesnut-street, Philadelphia, under the name of the president, directors, tellers, clerks, &c. &c. They have their sub-governments spread throughout the country, under the name of branches and agencies ; they have their newspaper organs, their political organizations, their leaders and agents, their ministers and negotiators, as much as any modern government. American commerce and manufactures are subject to this *new* British colonial government, and a new party, with principles the most dangerous to freedom, has been rapidly forming and attaining power under its auspices.

The coming contest is in fact a revival of the great question of the revolution in a more imposing form ; it is a question between internal freedom and foreign monied power ; between liberty and foreign monopoly. The descendants of the revolution are called upon to decide at the ballot box what their fathers decided in the field and on the ocean. The men of 1776, in their great decision, poured out their blood like water, and wasted their substance like air. Their descendants have only to march up to the polls and put in their ballots for the men of the people. It is a question between Nicholas Biddle and Andrew Jackson, between the heroic defender of New Orleans and the British colonial government in Philadelphia, between the conqueror of Pakenham's soldiers and the grand purchaser of men and votes in Philadelphia.

Are the people ready for the question?

from all parts of the city the deep whisper of liberty is heard — Already.

EFFECT OF THE PRESIDENT'S MEASURES.

A Bank paper says that "the currency" is reduced *twenty-millions*, in consequence of the measures of the President with regard to the Bank. Now it is well known that the specie of the country has been *increased* ; so that the *reduction* must have been a reduction of the *paper currency*. Well : there are twenty millions less of *paper money* in circulation than there were six months ago ; consequently the bankers and loanmongers are getting interest on twenty millions *less*, and, of course, the people are *paying* interest on so much less.

"But" say the bankites, "are not many mechanics thrown out of employment, by preventing their employers from obtaining their accommodations ?" We answer, *yes* ; employers who have depended upon paper-money "facilities," have, in some instances, been *compelled* to discharge their workmen, and, in others, they have discharged them for *political effect*. But what will be the consequence ? There will be the same *demand* for every article of industry as before, and if one man cannot, as formerly, employ a hundred, by means of *fictitious* capital, to produce an article demanded, those among the hundred who have obtained the most *real* capital by their labour, will employ the rest, or the hundred will *associate* to carry on the business.

Therefore, if the paper currency has been *reduced*, and people do not again allow it to be *increased*, they will be better off than before, and if they will go on reducing it, their prospects will continue to improve until the whole rag-money currency is got rid of.

If there be any mistake in the above statement of the case, let the bankites show it : and if there be none, let the cry of the useful classes be "Hickory, Homespun, and Hard Money."

TYRANNY OF THE BANK ARIS-
TOCRACY.

We have already recorded several instances of bankite employers discharging their workmen, because they have spoken and acted in favour of the patriotic measures of General Jackson, for getting rid of "the curse of paper-money and banking." We have a few more to add to the catalogue :

Philadelphia, Feb. 20, 1834.

This is to certify, that I have been employed at the works of the canal, West Philadelphia, by William Ingraham, and that on Saturday he made inquiry of me, "if I was not a *Jackson man*." My reply was, "Yes." He then gave me directions that there was no further employment for me, and I was discharged in consequence of my *political sentiments*.

Witness my hand, at my residence, Schuylkill Fourth-street, near Market.

WILLIAM O'HARA.

The *Pennsylvanian* says :

"We have heard of *several* cases where "working men have been discharged on "account of their political opinions ; "and we have good authority for saying, that respectable [?] individuals "have advocated and recommended such "a course as necessary and proper to "enlighten the workmen."

The *Boston Post* says :

"Mr. William Wilkins has called "upon us, in company with Mr. John "Nason, and stated that he was dis- "charged from the employ of Messrs. "Hayward and Bachelder, through the "influence of Mr. Hayward, because "he refused to sign the memorial in fa- "vour of re-chartering the U. S. Bank, "and was told so by Mr. Hayward, in "the presence of Mr. Nason, at the "Franklin Bank."

We have now in our possession a certificate, showing that a type-founder of this city, who *sailed* a short time ago, has avowed that no man shall be employed by him, or by any one "*under*" him, when he re-commences operations, who is in favour of the measures of the President, and that, in allusion to Bank employers generally in this city, he has

said, "We have ALL agreed to act on those principles."

Thus the principal question for the working men to decide at the approaching election, and at all future elections, will be, whether they will elect men favourable to the perpetuation of a system which enables employers to exercise such tyranny over the operatives, or whether they will choose such as will prostrate the whole rotten, swindling system in the dust.

It is banking that enables one employer to monopolize the business of many, and, by lessening the number of employers, to increase their power of oppression. It is banking that enables some men to live in splendour on the labour of the operatives, without labouring themselves. It is banking that gives an unnatural impulse to business at one time, and at another throws large classes of workmen out of employ. By these and various other means, the system is ruining the country. It should therefore be opposed through the ballot boxes. The coming election will afford one opportunity of giving a blow to the monstrous contrivance of robbing useful labour of its reward.

THE CRISIS.—NONCOMMITTAL.

We have observed, lately, in the *Sun*, several no-sided, noncommittal *political* articles, cutting right and left against those arrayed on both sides of the great questions which now agitate the country, but calculated, we imagine, to convey the impression, that to remain neutral, or lukewarm, is more praiseworthy than to engage warmly on either political side. We protest against this doctrine. We have not the least unfriendly feeling towards the *Sun*; if it chooses to be merely a news and miscellaneous paper, to suit the taste of the greatest number of readers, well and good ; it should not be molested, any more than a gentleman should be molested who might choose to fold his arms and look on when his neighbours' houses were on fire, rather than assist to quench the flames at the risk of spoiling his clothes ; but if it attempt to cast censure

upon those who exert all their energies to eradicate an acknowledged evil, without fear of consequences, it must expect to be treated as the man would be treated who should not only not assist in putting out a fire himself, but should endeavour to prevail upon others to be inactive.

We may have misunderstood the *Sun*. We hope we *have* misunderstood it. It has a large circulation, and might do much good on the *right side* in politics; and we are inclined to think it will take the right side, if any. But if it chooses to remain neutral, we trust that hereafter it will not endeavour to neutralize others. Instead of saying, "Put the *Bank* down if *that* is wrong, and put the *President* down *if he is wrong*," we hope the *Sun* will either say *nothing*, or say *which* it is that ought to be "put down."

We believe that a crisis has arrived, which requires *the action of every man*, to the extent of his abilities; and we think that every one will be censurable who shall remain idle. The patriots of the revolution did not pause to consider the inconvenience, or even *danger*, to themselves, when it was announced that the good of the country demanded their services. *They* made no dollar and cent calculations, except those in which *principle* was involved. *Their* motto was, "Millions for *defence*, but not a cent for *tribute*." And have their sons degenerated? Did their sires displace a *foreign* aristocracy, that *they* might tolerate a *domestic* one in its place? Could they be re-animated for a moment, would not they frown indignantly at the bare suggestion? Would they not say that the worst of all aristocracies is an aristocracy of *wealth*; and that the worst shape an aristocracy of wealth can assume, is a *rag-money bank*, against which they took such especial pains to guard in framing our now-dishonoured *constitution*? Instead of advising us to remain inactive, would they not urge us to regain our lost ground, and restore the *constitution* to its purity? All this we think they would do, and therefore we cannot be *neutral* in the present crisis.

Those who do the work are now compelled to support in uselessness 6,000 bank officers, and probably 60,000 stock-jobbers, brokers, counterfeiters, and other vermin connected with the *rag-money system*. And these 66,000 Bank vermin do not merely *support* themselves out of the crib of the producing classes, but they consume at least three times as much as the producers themselves. Is this right? Let the question be answered at the ballot boxes.

The revolution which is to be effected, is not to be consummated by rose-water. It will require much nerve and perseverance; sacrifices of private comfort, and exertions of public duty, great nerve and manly perseverance to put down an aristocracy of thirty-five millions of capital. When the Bank Bill was about to pass the House of Representatives, Mr. J. Randolph warned them of the mischiefs they were about to inflict upon the country: "You are creating a monster," said he, "which nobody can control. Who will bell the cat? Who will take the bull by the horns and subdue him? You cannot control it; and you might as well try to conquer Gibraltar with a pocket pistol." But Andrew Jackson has made the first stroke at it by his veto. For one, we will never despair of the republic. The struggle will be a violent one; but success must crown the effort. Virginia will rush to the rescue. Her voice will be heard in April next.—*Richmond Inquirer*.

Correspondence of the Working Man's Advocate.

Troy, March 19, 1834.

I think from present appearances, that your paper will soon become more popular in this place, and for one I shall lose no opportunity in endeavouring to render it so. Here, as in all other places, the question respecting banks is likely to be examined by the people. The false capitalists seem to be nearly exhausted, and I hope to see mechanics, ere long, devising some other mode of procuring a livelihood than the long-established one of making themselves tributary to banks. Like yourself, I have long wished for a revolution in the currency; but it is likely to take place with more rapidity than I ever expected or even

wished. I should have been glad to change the system gradually, so as to injure no one's circumstances; but it cannot be expected of reformers to sympathize much with those who ruin themselves by endeavouring to uphold an unjust and oppressive system.

Many of the mechanics of Troy, as well as merchants, seem to understand scarcely any thing more about banks than that they discount their notes. It seems never to have entered their minds that there were evils connected with a banking system; and to witness the manner in which many of them speak of the malignity they manifest against the opponents of banks, reminds one of the ignorance displayed by certain quadrupeds who have neither sense nor courage enough to attack their real enemies, but who foolishly bite whatever is put in their way.

Some who have pretended to be great friends of Jackson, and have hitherto rejoiced at his hostility to the Mammoth Bank, begin to back out, now when it is too late, for fear their business may be deranged, but, as such selfish characters are a disgrace to human nature, I hope for the honour of the nation they are but few.

There are others who are beginning to discover the aristocratic tendency of banks, and to question the policy of drawing large communities together to depend for their daily bread upon the success of a few individuals who depend on the favours of banks and loan-mongers for the means to transact an extensive business. They begin to discover that industry and economy will not, as formerly, enable a man to become his own master. In all commercial places, under the present system, there is only a choice of two evils for the poor man; he must either submit to depend for daily labour (to support a family) on one who is manufacturing extensively on false capital, and likely to fail with any change of times; or, he must, in violation of the honest feelings of his heart, run headlong into debt, and trust to the chances of fortune for the result. He must place himself in competition with every overbearing tyrant, and oppress, and screw his fellow-beings to the lowest extremity, by reducing wages from time to time, or even then he will be undersold and driven to destruction. The truth is, the present banking system is well calculated not only to enslave the labouring classes, but to encourage vice and immorality in every form, and to divest every one who has not independence enough to be unpopular, of every virtue that renders society a blessing to mankind.

We hear much from the Bank presses that savours of a rebellious spirit: for one I look upon the question now pending as one of sufficient importance to be decided by a resort to arms, if it cannot be decided without; and I would as cheerfully risk my life in support of the measures of the administration, as any other measures for human emancipation which have ever come within my knowledge.

[We admire the spirit and independence of

our correspondent (who is a mechanic), and cannot refrain from saying, that all he has uttered is in perfect accordance with our own opinions. With him he would willingly "GO TO THE DEATH," should the bankites make it necessary, for the measures of the administration to restore an honest constitutional currency.—ED. ADV.]

To the Editor of the *Working Man's Advocate*.

SIR,—In a late number of your valuable paper, I noticed some remarks respecting an article that lately appeared in the *Albany Argus*, speaking of the Bank party in New York, style themselves "friends of the constitution," asking what constitution? in which you state your ability to inform the *Argus* what constitution they are friendly to, and give it as your opinion that it is the *British* constitution they mean, in which opinion I fully concur. My object in making this communication, is to state another instance of an avowal by an individual of the same principles as those of the person with whom your agent had an interview.

I have been in the habit of visiting daily an eating-house in the lower part of this city during dinner hours, and have often met at table a certain "proprietor of a large drug store in this city," who uniformly, during the mastication of his meal, introduced the very subject spoken of, and in a loud, pompous manner (no doubt for the edification of all within the sound of his voice), draws comparisons between our weak and contemptible form of government, and that master-piece of integrity, the *British constitution*, condemning, in unmeasured terms, the acts of President Jackson, and predicting our speedy and remediless ruin if he persists in his present policy, but more particularly his publicly advocating the cause of the weak (poor), and thinks nothing but the existence of the U. S. Bank can save us. I would have thought (and to save you some trouble) that the gentleman I have noticed was the same "Drug store proprietor, who vends his bitter feelings against the President," that your agent encountered, if you had not mentioned that he was an American. The individual I allude to is an ENGLISHMAN.

A SUBSCRIBER.

(From the *New York Evening Post*, 25. March, 1834.)

We hasten to lay before our readers to-day the following message from Governor Marey to the legislature, delivered yesterday, submitting to them for their consideration two financial measures, with a view to assist the people of the State of New York in the war which the United States Bank is waging against the public prosperity, and in

which the monied institutions of this State are, in a particular manner, the objects of direct attack. Of one of the proposed measures, the project of a ten millions state bank, we have already unequivocally expressed our disapprobation; and we are glad to perceive that the executive suggests the same objection to that scheme which has been insisted upon in this paper. To the other measure, the proposed five per cent. loan on state stock to the amount of four millions of dollars, we can perceive no very strong grounds of objection; while there are certainly various and important reasons to be urged in its favour. We have not, however, time nor space to enter into the merits of the question this afternoon.

GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and of the Assembly:

Since my communication to the legislature at the commencement of the present session, the unusual derangement of the business operations of the community has been such, as in my judgment to render it the duty of the executive to call your attention to the subject.

It was not then perceived that the order of the treasury department, directing the accruing receipts of the public monies to be deposited in the local banks instead of the Bank of the United States, could essentially interrupt the business transactions of the community; nor is it now supposed that any necessary connexion exists between that act, and the present state of commercial embarrassment.

Although it was known that the Bank of the United States had commenced a rapid curtailment of its debt anterior to the action of the government upon the deposits, and had actually reduced it more than four millions of dollars during the sixty days previous to the 1. of October, when the order of the Secretary took effect; yet as the Government had directed the change to be made in a manner best calculated to avoid any pressure upon the Bank or injury to the community, it was not reasonable to suppose that the occasion would have been seized for the purpose of giving an unnecessary shock to business, much less of exciting a causeless panic. Certain it is, however, that since the change referred to, such has been the attitude assumed by that institution in regard to the local banks, that the latter are unable to afford to the community those assurances of future accommodations, which are so essentially necessary to inspire confidence among business men in entering into new engagements.

The partisans of that institution, and certain presses devoted to its recharter, by systematic and persevering efforts in disseminating

distrust of the credit of our monied institutions, particularly those of this State, of the credit of individuals, of the resources of the country, and its ability to meet the crisis; and by endeavouring to fasten public opinion upon this act of the Government as the cause of the depression which has been experienced, as well as that which is daily predicted and held up to the public view in a distorted and exaggerated form; have also produced an excitement among the business community, calculated essentially to aggravate the pressure, and prolong its existence.

Looking at the immense wealth and resources of the country, presenting externally, as indicated by the course of exchange, an appearance of prosperity unknown for many years, and internally, until within a short period, the same favourable appearance, as indicated by abundant crops, fair prices, active mercantile and manufacturing operations; it appears to be impossible that the existing state of things should have sprung from a cause so inadequate as the mere substitution of one place for another as the depository of the accruing receipts by the Government.

Although the removal of the deposits, effected as it was prospectively, and operating upon the funds in hand, not by withdrawing the whole suddenly, but gradually, as the wants of the Government required, furnished of itself no sufficient cause for the results, which, in point of time have followed it; yet it is said that its operation has been to derange the currency, to destroy confidence, and thus to produce the present embarrassment.

It is undoubtedly true, that much of the pressure upon the money market has been occasioned by the destruction of confidence; but it is not easy to perceive how that is to be charged as the necessary consequence of the action of the Government. It is the consequence of the attitude assumed by the Bank of the United States towards other banks—an attitude not necessary, although its advocates attempt to justify it, either as a measure of retaliation upon the Government, or for the purpose of compelling those institutions to surrender or to refuse to accept the public deposits.

Nor is it easy to perceive how the action of the Government should of necessity derange the currency or the commercial operations of the country, through the medium of domestic exchanges. The ability of the Bank to conduct all ordinary business has been essentially impaired, and its amount of discounted bills of exchange is at this moment as large, or about as large, as it ever has been. Whatever inconveniences may have resulted from its refusal latterly to furnish drafts at sight between its different offices at the usual rates (and these inconveniences undoubtedly have been great), would seem, therefore, to be of its own creation, or the result of that position in regard to the other banks which it has chosen to assume.

*It is believed that the principal causes of the present embarrassment have no essential connexion with the removal of the deposits.

In December, 1830, the Bank of the United States commenced a rapid increase of its loans and circulation, and continued augmenting them until May, 1832, having within that period added about twenty-eight millions of dollars to its accommodations to the public, and over four millions to its notes in circulation. The necessary consequences of such a large and sudden increase of facilities to business men, was to encourage a corresponding liberality on the part of the local banks, over-action in trade, and to stimulate to excess the industry and enterprise of the country. At all events, since that period, foreign commercial operations, domestic trade and manufactures, speculations in stocks, lands and produce, have been carried on to an extent and upon a scale before entirely unknown.

The policy of contraction on the part of the Bank, which immediately followed this unexampled expansion, had scarcely been commenced, when the tariff law of July, 1832, went into effect, the operation of which, with its subsequent modification, was well calculated to develop the injurious consequences of the overtrading which had preceded.

Under the former law, duties to the amount of about fifteen millions annually accrued upon imports at the port of New York, the payment of which was secured by bonds payable at different periods, some as long as eighteen months. As the merchandise was generally sold by the importer, soon after the execution of his bond for the duties, it is obvious that the credit afforded by the Government, was to him equivalent to so much capital, until the time of payment should arrive. Before this time, a fresh importation enabled him to create a new credit, and thus a very large amount of capital was constantly in use among those engaged in commercial pursuits.

The law of July, 1832, considerably reduced the amount of duties, while that of 1833, operated still further to diminish the capital of the importer thus derived from Government credits, by admitting many new articles to the free list, by shortening the bonds in some cases, and by substituting cash payments on many articles subject to duty.

This law took effect on March 4, 1833 and during the past year the bonds of the preceding year have been falling due, while the shortened bonds and cash duties have created an additional demand for money, thus casting upon the importer the burden repaying the capital formerly loaned to him by the Government, and also of paying the cash duties required upon his recent importations. It has been estimated that the effect of this law has been equivalent to the withdrawal from the commercial investments of from twelve to thirteen millions of capital.

The depressed state of foreign exchange, also, although an indication favourable to the general condition of the country, has, it is

understood, prevented the drawing of considerable sums of money from Europe, the proceeds of produce as well as of stocks sold abroad.

These causes, together with the rapid curtailment of its debt by the United States Bank, between the first days of August and December, amounting to nearly ten millions of dollars, and all operating upon a state of trade unusually and extravagantly extended, are supposed to be sufficient to account for most of the distress hitherto experienced.

The severity of the pressure in New York, has undoubtedly been very much mitigated, by placing the public deposits in the local banks, which have thereby been enabled to discount, and have actually discounted upwards of four millions more than they otherwise could have done.

And as the charter was soon to expire, and the Bank had actually commenced its curtailments sometime previous to the action of the Government, that action would seem to be indispensably necessary for the protection of the public, so far as the funds of the Government would afford the means. This measure, however, which as we have seen, involved no necessary destruction of individual confidence or credit, no necessary derangement of ordinary commercial operations, much less any necessity to the panic which has followed, has furnished to the Bank the pretext for placing itself in a new and menacing attitude, and to its partisans the occasion of wantonly sporting with the fears of the timid, the standing of the weak, the stability of the currency, and the credit of monied institutions.

This corporation brought into existence for the purpose of subserving the general good, (if for any justifiable purpose,) seems to be bending the whole of its prodigious energies towards compelling the people, by force of pecuniary suffering, to acknowledge the necessity of its recharter.

Our constituents have distinctly expressed their unbiased judgment upon the question of recharter; and I cannot doubt that they possess sufficient patriotism to meet any crisis, which the controversy may produce, and that in the maintenance of principles of vital importance to themselves and to posterity, they will be ready to endure any pecuniary privation rather than submit to the dictation of a great monied power.

From recent debates in the national legislature; from the tone of the presses which advocate the cause of the Bank; from the language of public meetings; from the organizations of party; and from other indications too plain to be mistaken, the efforts on the part of the Bank seem to be directed especially against the monied institutions and the business relations of the State of New York. Under such circumstances, I deem it the imperative duty of the state, to put forth its energies to aid these institutions in the struggle, and to protect its citizens from oppression. Connected as these institutions are,

with the industry and prosperity of the state, all classes of our constituents, whether agricultural, mercantile or manufacturing, are equally interested in their welfare.

I am furnished by the Bank commissioners, with a statement of the condition of the banks subject to their supervision on the 4. of March instant, by which it appears that their circulation had been diminished since the 1. day of January last, more than three millions of dollars; and that the country institutions, or those located out of the cities of New York and Albany, while they had reduced their loans and discounts only about 600,000 dollars, had reduced their circulation about two millions of dollars. The entire resources of the country banks on the 4. of March, excluding the bank fund, amounted to 21,984,000 dollars, and their entire liabilities to 12,462,900 dollars. Notwithstanding the redemption, between those dates, of about two millions of their paper, the reduction of their specie was less than 25,000 dollars; and their immediate means of redemption, consisting of specie at home and funds on deposit in Albany and New York, subject to be drawn at sight, amounted to more than thirty-five per cent. of their whole circulation.

So far, therefore, as the banks themselves are concerned, I entertain not the slightest doubt, either of their present or future ability to meet any crisis that can occur; but under a state of things which may be imagined a proper regard for their own safety, may put it out of their power to afford those accommodations to the public, which its interests may require.

The Bank of the United States has recently declared its intention to continue its curtailments, but on what ratio we know not. It probably has due to it in this State about seven millions; and what portion of this amount our citizens may be called upon to pay before the next session of the legislature, cannot now be determined. If this amount shall be called in rapidly, our banks must necessarily strengthen themselves by calling in a portion of their debt; and thus it will be in the power of the Bank of the United States, if it should have the disposition, to occasion serious embarrassment to all classes of the community, unless the legislature make some suitable provision to guard against such a result.

It has been suggested to me by several intelligent and practical gentlemen from the city of New York, for whom, and for whose opinion I entertain the highest respect, and who, I am sure, were governed by no motives of individual interest in the matter, that the establishment of a large banking institution in that city was called for at the present time. A capital of eight or ten millions was mentioned; and it was proposed that the State should take one half, and pay for it by a state stock, bearing an interest of four or five per cent., redeemable at the expiration of the charter; the balance of stock to be distributed by commissioners to be appointed by the go-

vernour and senate, or in such other manner as should be thought best; the State to appoint its share of directors: the rate of discount to be fixed at six per cent., and if deemed proper, the surplus profits over six or seven per cent. per annum to be paid into the State treasury; the institution to issue no notes under twenty dollars, and in other respects to be made subject to the laws of the State, reserving to the legislature the usual right to modify or repeal the charter.

It was urged, that the stock issued by the State might readily be disposed of in Europe for specie, and that such a charter would furnish a sufficient inducement to ensure the necessary subscriptions for the residue of the capital; and that such an institution would be able to take the debt now due to the United States Bank in this State, whenever it should be called in; to furnish the requisite facilities to the commercial interests of the city of New York in the discount and collection of domestic exchange; to acquire a character in Europe, which would enable it to sustain mercantile credit in times of revolutions in trade; and, in short, to exercise a healthful influence over all the diversified interests of that great city, and consequently over every branch of industry throughout the State.

Although many of the advantages anticipated from an institution of such a character, might, and probably would be realized, there are, nevertheless, objections to this proposition, of serious if not preponderating weight. It is deemed by many to be objectionable in principle for any Government to engage in the ordinary pursuits of individual enterprise. Such an institution, possessing ample powers over the currency of the State, which, properly directed, might be productive of salutary effects, might also, by a misdirection of its efforts, be equally capable of producing serious and extensive injury. It might, in its administration, be subject to the fluctuations of political power, and thereby be in danger of becoming an engine wielded to subserve the interests of a party. It might, by the acquisition of political influence, paralyze the controlling power reserved to the legislature; it might, for the purpose of acquiring this influence, openly take the field of party politics, and exhibit the disgusting spectacle with which we are already too familiar, of a large monied corporation arrayed in political opposition to the Government of the country.

Unless, therefore, such an institution, or one of a somewhat similar character, should be found indispensably necessary, to enable us to counteract a greater evil, I should be unwilling to hazard so dangerous an experiment.

It has occurred to me, that a remedy as well for the existing evil, as for the inconvenience which may in any event result from the withdrawal of the capital now employed by the Bank in this State, may be provided, by the issue of a state stock, if necessary, to the amount of four or five millions of dollars, and

by increasing the ability of the banks in the city of New York with loans of this stock, in such manner as would be perfectly safe to the State, and at the same time enable them to extend their accommodations so as to supply the amount of capital to be withdrawn by the branch in that city. It is due to the city banks to say, that this suggestion does not proceed from them; they have thus far sustained themselves with creditable ability, and feel a perfect confidence in their resources to do so under any emergency that may happen; but the suggestion is intended for the relief of the whole community, by sustaining the markets for our agricultural and manufactured productions, and giving activity and vigour to commercial enterprise.

Should this measure be adopted, the necessity will at once be perceived of imposing upon certain persons to be designated by the legislature, the power and responsibility of carrying it into effect. Ample provision should be made to secure the regular payment of interest, and the ultimate redemption of the stock by the banks to which the loans may be made, so that the State will neither be subject to inconvenience, nor incur any responsibility beyond the loan of its credit to stable and well-conducted institutions. It may also be necessary to provide, that during the continuance of the loans to the banks, they shall possess the power of discounting upon them as upon so much additional capital, without allowing them to extend their circulation beyond the limits now prescribed by law. The banks in New York, from their position, must necessarily meet and sustain the first shock of any pressure upon the money market, and by strengthening them theretofore, we aid every branch of industry throughout the State. A depression in the city necessarily affects prices in the country, and operates to the injury of the agricultural, as well as the manufacturing and mercantile interests of the whole State. Should it be deemed advisable, a portion of this stock might be disposed of, and the avails loaned in the different counties of the State through the agency of the country loan officers, as has heretofore been done on several occasions, to the great relief of the community.

It is not doubted that the State, by the loan of its credit in some such manner, may, without incurring any loss or inconvenience, do much to sustain the great interest of the people, if the necessity for it should arise; and I cannot entertain the slightest doubt that the measure would meet with their cordial approbation.

Being perfectly satisfied, that the energies and resources of this State, will enable it to bear up against any temporary depression of business which can be anticipated; that in this desperate struggle by a great monied power to perpetuate its own existence by the force of its pressure upon the community; the patriotism of the people will be found to rise, regardless of mere pecuniary sacrifices; and

that it is the duty of the State to stand forth in its strength, and by the use of its credit and the sanction of its name, to shield its institutions and its citizens from harm; I commit the entire subject to your deliberate consideration.

W. L. MARCY.

Albany, 23. March, 1834.

THE ARISTOCRATS AND THE PEOPLE.

The memorial against the United States Bank and the restoration of the deposits to its vaults, has been sent back to this city by Harmer Denny, to be, as he terms it, "re-examined." The motive for sending it back, however, is well known here. It was to enable the monied aristocrats of the city to prosecute every poor man who chanced to be in any way within their power. Already has this fiendish spirit begun its operations. Mechanics and labourers, employed by Bank men, who signed the anti-Bank Memorial, have been since this development of their names occurred, discharged on this account alone. Force and persecution are the only arguments the Bank men think of in this city, and we regret to say that they have enough power to do temporary injury. They have fattened on banks, and become powerful through their means—while the honest mechanic, depending on his labour for all he possessed, remains as poor as when he began life. Banks have reared up in this place a mushroom aristocracy, more insolent, worthless, and intolerant than in any other city in this State. The aristocrats of other cities often have the slight palliation of having existed as a separate class for some time. Ours have arisen almost in a day, and forgetting the source from which they have sprung, attempt to trample on the rights of the people. Rag-money institutions, denominated banks, have been the means of changing these men from honest, industrious persons, into a set of dealers, speculators, and stock gamblers. We, therefore, should consider the cause which produced these aristocrats, as more censurable than themselves, and endeavour to rid our land of it. Working men, in fact, have no alternative between remaining slaves, or ridding themselves

of a ruinous paper currency. The great hydra-headed monster of the banking and paper-money system is the United States Bank. If it stands, a false currency that will purchase labour for less price than a song, will also exist. It must be annihilated, or we, the working people, are little better off than slaves.

—*Pittsburgh Am. Man.*

Philadelphia, March 1, 1834.

* * * Biddle's screws are turned in every direction; wages are curtailed, under the plea of scarcity of money, but in reality to make the workeys feel the pressure, and men are discharged from like motives. "These are the times that try men's souls," for most men's souls now lie in their pockets, and I begin to think the present generation unworthy of liberty. I fear for the result. An eminent philanthropist of this city has said, "That if the Bank is re-chartered, he will sign over all his claim to the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution, for our liberties would then be an empty name" And I say so too. * * *

Still we have many, and I am proud to say that in the number are a large majority of the working men, who are ready to dare all, and do all, and bear all the evils they can inflict before they will submit to a renewal of the charter. It was in conversation with one of these that a wealthy employer said a few days since, "The fact is that the Government does not suit everybody; *I would prefer the Government of England.*" "I thought so," said the workey, "I thought so long since, and doubt not there are many of your opinion, but if you were a poor man, and had to work for your living, as I do, you would prefer a republic." "I don't know that I would," said he, "but mind what I tell you, in ten years it will be a monarchy." "Then," said the workey, "I suppose you will have a Government to your liking."

And yet these are the men who cry out that we want to make a king of Jackson; these are they who tremble for the safety of our republican institutions, who are the opposers of tyranny,

guardians of the constitution, &c. &c. &c. ad infinitum.

A Methodist preacher, who is foreman in a grate and stove manufactory, and who, because he lives without work, doubtless considers himself a member of good society, told me, "that a majority of the INTELLIGENCE of the country was not in favour of the removal of the deposits; that the poor, the lower classes, who, though the first to suffer, could not be convinced of the necessity of a sound currency, (meaning the currency of the Bank,) were alone on the side of the President, and they were the friends of all anarchy, tyranny, and despotism, and were not to be trusted with self-government." He was a Tory Englishman, and such a one I should have thought would have stayed at home.

Our TRADES' UNION goes into operation on Tuesday, the 11. of March.

TRADES' UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

(From the New York Working Man's Advocate.)

To the Editor of the Working Man's Advocate.

Sir,—In my last letter, (see Advocate, No. 30,) I stated that the labouring classes were hourly looking, with the greatest anxiety, for some public measure tending to promote the social happiness and elevate the moral character of man. I likewise stated my desire that my fellow-labourers should exert themselves to obtain knowledge on all subjects, but especially political knowledge, for that is of *vital* importance to us all. I assert, and will maintain, that there cannot be any such thing as neutrality in the present crisis. You must either be *slaves* or *freemen*. Take an instance of your revolutionary fathers, and particularly that venerable and last survivor, Charles Carroll, who added "of Carrollton" to his name, that the innocent might not suffer, and to evince that he was willing to brave the tyrants of that day.

Tyrants are all over the world. The rights of man have been too long assailed

and trampled upon. The weapons I should recommend to you in the coming contest are, *reason, common sense, and experience*. Fellow-labourers, do not allow yourselves to be gulled and duped by designing knaves and cringing sycophants. Rely not on their promises, and above all do not inflame your minds with that deadly poison, *rum*, which will destroy your reasoning powers, and arouse the weaker passions of your nature. Let me remind you of what Pope says:—

“ *Know thyself, nor Reason scan,*
The proper study of mankind is man.”

How can you know *yourself* when you sip the inebriating cup? No: show yourselves independent at the polls. Read in the working men’s papers, (the others withhold such information,) and you will see what is going on in England. The people, I mean the *working* people, of that country are making rapid strides towards the advancement of social happiness. Unions, Trades’ and Political Unions, are every where springing up, and America is not far behind. I will venture to predict that ere fifty years are passed, man will attain to a perfect social order and state; but you, the “bone and sinew of the nation,” must be firm as the rock of ages. Look at Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and this city, the emporiums of the United States of America; in every one of these cities they are establishing Trades’ Unions for the protection of honest industry, and I hope the several Trades’ Unions will not forget to tender their assistance, and if practicable to examine into the situation of the female labouring part of the respective communities where such Unions exist, and render them all the aid possible. Shame to the employers of female labour! But I say to them, beware! To use the language of the Derby placard (in England), *your kingdom shall shortly be taken from you.*

I shall, at some future period, suggest a plan whereby the price of labour may be increased, and labour itself decreased. The news from abroad respecting Unions, I think, should encourage you all to fall into the ranks of the New York Union, and to enlarge its shield; and

my advice to you is, *get information*. Remember, bankers, brokers, and speculators are passing sleepless nights nowadays; and for what are they doing that? you will ask. I will tell you: planning schemes for you and your children’s destruction; trying to enslave the free-born minds of men: and laying snares and traps for you all.

If you are negligent and indifferent to your welfare, now, when *you* are mouldering in the cold grave your *children* may have to drag the galling chain of slavery, and heap curses on your heads, while they are lingering out a miserable existence as some of *you* do at present. Therefore, learn wisdom from the folly of the past, and resolve, for the future, to make amends, and then your children will bless you.

A WORKING MAN.

A meeting of the factory girls at Dover, N. H., to the number of 600, who were standing out against a reduction of wages, was held at the Court House at that place on Saturday last, when resolutions, evincing on the part of the girls a thorough knowledge of their rights and interests, were passed unanimously. These resolutions, with appropriate comments, are published in the *Dover Gazette*, and will appear in this paper next week.

PROSECUTION OF PAPER-MONEY MAKERS.

(*For the Working Man’s Advocate.*)

WASHINGTON BANK AT HACKENSACK.—We learn that the grand jury of Bergen county, N. J., have found bills of indictment for conspiracy against John de Groot, the president, F. Peltier, and Mr. Solomons, brokers, Wall-street, all of whom have been arrested. It is said that about one hundred thousand dollars in bills are afloat on the community, and that the assets are about two thousand.—*Daily Advertiser.*

Should these gentlemen be convicted, I am curious to know in what manner the laws of New Jersey will deal with them. I should like to know whether the court have the power to send them

to that school, where they may gain a competent and practical knowledge of the why and the wherefore God in his justice ordained that there should be such things as *ROTTEN EGGS*, or whether the court can merely send them to assist in carrying forward some of those vast sublime improvements of the age, which consist partly of broken stones, and which, when properly adjusted, go by the dignified name of *M'Adamized roads*. I am curious to know these things, not so much for the mere purpose of gratifying an idle and prying temper as for the sake of the "gentlemen" themselves.

This, in my view, is an important matter, even if we were to rest here, but, when we carry our inquires on, in order to ascertain how the holders of the *one hundred thousand dollars*' worth of the gentlemen's "promises to pay" will proceed, in order to obtain satisfaction or recompense for the grievous wrongs inflicted on them; I say, when and while we are doing this, the question assumes such vast importance that we cannot afford to spend our thoughts upon the "gentlemen." It matters not to us, whether their *HEADS* be employed in *breaking rotten eggs*, or their *hands in cracking stones*. The suffering note-holders are not, in my opinion, out of the pale of the *LAW*. The *LAW*, if it be good for any thing at all, will assuredly recompense these innocent sufferers. I am no lawyer; I cannot, therefore, point out the way in which redress is to be sought; but I know, that the law is made to protect the weak against the unrighteous attacks of the strong; the innocent and virtuous against the craft and wiles of the wicked; and knowing this, I cannot believe that these sufferers are to have no redress, should they deem it proper to seek redress. I do not know, but I think, should the note-holder *SUE* the *STATE OF NEW JERSEY*, in a court of the *United States*, "Uncle Sam" would deem it his duty to make the *State of New Jersey* pay such damages as would make the note-holder *whole*.

In support of this opinion, I argue thus:

- 1st. No State has a right to authorise, corporations of money-makers.
- 2nd. That all banks are such corporations.
- 3rd. That the *State of New Jersey*, contrary to law, authorised the *Washington Bank*, at *Hackensack*, to do at last, led them to do, or at any rate has empowered them to do, that which has now brought them into the hands of a grand jury.
- 4th. That as the prerogative of coining money for the whole nation is specially confided to *Congress*, it is the duty of *Congress* to see that no infringement on this prerogative be practised by any seeing, that such infringement leads to the injury of innocent citizens.

There are other mighty matters involved in this. Such, for instance, as this: had *Congress* done her duty, the *State of New Jersey* could have made no bank at *Hackensack*, and therefore the blame would come home to "Uncle Sam" himself. However, the *note holders* are not to suffer all this wrong, and be told that they must pocket the loss; that they have no redress; that there is no blame any where; that they cannot be helped. To tell this, is to tell them too sad a story of that country, and of those laws, that they have ever been proudly boasting of as theirs.

GEORGE WOODWARD.

Brooklyn, 28. February, 1834.

LIFE OF JACKSON.

THIS book, with an interesting frontispiece, and an exact likeness of the President, is now published, and may be had, very neatly bound in boards, at *Bolt-court*, and of all booksellers. The price is *3s.*

This history was written by *Mr. EATON*, a senator of the United States, for *TENNESSEE*, the colleague of *JACKSON* in that station; and now his *Secretary at War*. They both lived on their farms near *NASHVILLE* in *TENNESSEE*, and *Mr. EATON* was manifestly furnished with the official documents by *JACKSON* himself. My main object was to lay be-

fore the people of England the true character of this great soldier and statesman. I have, therefore, left out, in my abridgment, a large part of those details, which would not have been so interesting here, and which were not necessary to the furthering of my object; but I have omitted nothing tending to effect that object. Mr. EATON concluded his work with the conclusion of the last war, and of the wonderful feats of this resolute man at NEW ORLEANS. I have continued his history down from that time to the month of February last, giving a particular account of all his proceedings with regard to the infamous Bank.

As a frontispiece, there is a portrait of the President, which many American gentlemen have told me is a good likeness of him. It is copied from the portrait of Mr. EATON's book; and, of course, it was taken from the life and with great care.

I have dedicated this book to the **WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND**, as being a record of the deeds of a man that sprang from parents who formed part of themselves.

My readers have seen with what delight I have recorded the triumphs of this man. First, for his own sake; secondly, because he is descended immediately from poor Irish parents; thirdly, because he was so basely and infamously treated by British officers, at the early part of the American revolutionary war; but, above all things, because he sprang immediately from poor Irish parents.

POST-OFFICE, ROADS, AND LOCOMOTIVE CONVEYANCE.

SIR,—My letter of the 25. ult. was addressed to you on the expectation that Mr. Wallace's motion respecting the Post-office would come on upon Tuesday last, and in the hope that your health would be so far restored as to enable you to take part in the discussion. The protracted debate, however, upon the repeal question has postponed the consideration of that important subject; and much, I trust, for the advan-

tage of the particular object for which I am anxious to procure your support, and that of the numerous body whose opinions you influence. Mr. Wallace's motion now stands for the 6. of June; and, as the session will be then well advanced, is changed from a motion for a select committee, to one for the appointment of a special commission. This is what I prayed for in my petition to Ministers, and, if it is granted, it is to be hoped that it will also embrace the subject of roads and locomotive conveyance. As your health, I trust, will long before the day of cause be sufficiently restored to enable you to resume your valuable labours in Parliament, I shall rest on the hope that you will embrace the opportunity of bringing it before the attention of the House. For I infer from your having given my letter a place in your last *Register*, that you approve that such an inquiry should be made. Had I anticipated that you would have laid my letter before your readers, I would have entered a little more fully into the nature of the **PROPOSAL** which forms the subject of my pamphlet published by Messrs. Cochrane and McCrone, and which I hold, if adopted, will cure the three grand evils of our social condition, viz. *excessive labour, dear food, and accumulation of capital in the hands of individuals*. As the subject is new, and not much promulgated, and as the most important effects may arise from its being taken up by the public previous to the introduction of Mr. Wallace's motion, you will perhaps further oblige me, as well as serve the cause, by allowing me to continue it in your next number. With respect to the first—*excess of labour*: at the lowest computation there are two millions of horses in the United Kingdom, one half of which are exclusively used in raising the crops, and carrying on the transport of the country. These horses at 20*l.* per head, have sunk in their purchase 20,000,000*l.* sterling, which sum is vested in a perishable article, in the fabrication of which there is no manual artifice whatever. Their removal will save the country the total loss of this sum once every twelve or

fifteen years from deaths, and further will invest it in machinery, which by human hands must be dug out of the bowels of the earth, smelted in the foundry, and fashioned in the smithy. Human hands must also smooth their way, and provide what is necessary to keep them in motion,—fuel. Hitherto steam has been applied to purposes only which have greatly abridged manual labour, but its extension to the removal of *brute* labour will undo that evil; for it will give an impulse to our iron-trade, coal-trade, road-making, &c., sufficient to improve the general industry of the country. Secondly, it is allowed that each horse consumes what would support eight individuals; the removal, therefore, of a million of horses will save food sufficient for eight millions of people: in short the adoption of a cheaper system of husbandry will enable the farmers to provide for the reduction in prices that will accompany this saving, with remuneration to themselves. Thirdly, it will distribute capital; for, including the poor-rates, (which I propose should be applied to introduce a system, which by absorbing surplus labour will soon work out their own cure,) and the sum annually sent out of the country for flax, hemp, grain, tobacco—(all which the removal of horses will enable us to raise at home); there is a yearly sum of 40,000,000*l.* engaged in the Post-office, roads, and stage-coach conveyance, one third of which, if my plan is adopted, will be brought into the Exchequer for the reduction of taxation. The following is a rough estimate of the items which make up this sum.

Annual gross Post-office Return ..	£2,053,720
Ditto, maintenance of Roads in	
England and Wales	1,600,000
Stage Coach Horses in Great	
Britain; their keep; replace-	
ment, interest on purchase	
money, duty, &c.	11,007,315
Duty on Stage Coaches, Licenses,	
&c.	1,500,000
Roads in Scotland and Ireland,	
and Stage Coach Establishment	
in the latter country, say	6,000,000
Poor-Rates	8,255,315
Sum annually exported for flax,	
hemp, corn, tobacco	10,000,000
	£10,416,350

The adoption of my **PROPOSAL** will, therefore, in its operation, absorb the whole surplus labour of the country; eventually add an island to Britain as large as that of Ireland, without the drawback of her distressed population; and reduce taxation to the extent of nearly 15,000,000*l.* yearly. Shall, then, this mighty boon bless the whole families of the land, the countless mass of the poor and laborious; or shall it be appropriated by the two or three hundred thousand individuals who are already wallowing in wealth and luxury? This is the question which I desire to force upon the attention of the community. Now is the time to bestir ourselves upon it, else the chance will be lost which will not again occur. We have a strong party amongst us, determined to have cheap bread from abroad; though that determination can only be realized by destroying our agriculturists at home. Another is moving heaven and earth for a repeal of the window tax, which, however paltry, the impoverished state of our exchequer renders a matter apparently impossible to be granted. Whilst a third look forward to equitable adjustment and an agrarian law, as the only cure for the evils of their case. Here is a method by which all their objects may be more than accomplished, without any breach of honesty, and by one which will prove mutually beneficial. Why should they not then combine to force this matter upon the attention of Government? Something practical must be done: and if we may judge of the feeling of the House from the favourable manner in which Mr. Gurney's petition was received last Wednesday, it would not be indisposed to entertain the **PROPOSAL**, provided the means are adopted necessary to bring it forward. One or two of the daily papers during the last week have given leading articles in recommendation of it, and I hope during the month that their example will be widely followed. Your having opened your columns to the subject will no doubt enlist many in the cause. Considering the exigent character of our distress, a more important measure never claimed the co-operation of the British

nation; for it will accomplish that which will alone prove a relief—the improvement of the employed classes, by and through the improvement of the employing classes. But I have already exceeded the limits of a letter; and, returning thanks for the favour which you have done me, shall conclude with an extract from the review of my pamphlet by the *True Sun* of the 28. ult.:—“ We can—“ not doubt, after taking a view of this “ plan, and of the subject which it re-“ fers to, that with improved commun-“ ication and reduction of taxes, employ-“ ment to manual labour will be afford-“ ed, food cheapened, and capital dis-“ tributed, to an extent that must gua-“ rantee the most important change in “ the social condition of the country. “ We really think that the project “ holds out the fairest promise for a “ realization of this result; but then, “ in proportion to our conviction upon “ this point, is our doubt whether Mi-“ nisters will have the spirit, prudence, “ and judgment requisite for the adop-“ tion of a proposition so novel and im-“ portant. The change is too complete “ and sweeping, and we might almost “ add, the advantages of it are far too “ probable and definite to allow us to “ suppose that the plan will meet with “ the approbation of our Reform pro-“ fessors, who hold the reins of Go-“ vernment. Yet we do trust that the “ proposition will be strenuously advo-“ cated in Parliament, and that it will “ be urgently enforced upon the Go-“ vernment to accede to the appoint-“ ment for a commission of inquiry “ into the subject of a consolidation of “ the Post-office, roads, and locomo-“ tive conveyance, with a view to the “ ascertaining of the mode in which “ their accruing revenues can best be “ appropriated for the service of the “ state.”

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
R. BROWN.

5. May, 1834.

To Mr. Cobbett, M. P.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1834.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

STOCKER, G., High-street, Whitechapel, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

BOWLES, R., Spalding, carpenter.

CRANFIELD, S., Colchester, Essex, inn-keeper.

CHILTON, J., Trinity-terrace, Southwark, boarding-house-keeper.

EDGAR, R., Harp-lane, Tower-street, wine-merchant.

FISHER, M., Huddersfield, Yorkshire, pro- vision-dealer.

GOULD, W., Star-court, Rosemary-lane, brewer.

GREEN, J., Cheltenham, draper.

HILL, W., Cradley, Worcestershire, nail- manufacturer.

HUNT, T., St. Mary-axe, bookbinder and stationer.

POLTON, T. W., Bath, fruiterer.

STEVENS, W., jun., Old Jewry, auctioneer.

WEBB, F., Fleet-street, robe-maker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

M'CALLUM, J., and Son, Glasgow, coopers.

TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1834.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

SHAW, T., Charlesworth, Derbyshire, cot- ton-spinner.

BANKRUPTS.

BACON, J., Greenwich, plasterer.

BRINDLEY, J., Alton, Staffordshire, colour- manufacturer.

DODGE, R., otherwise R. D. Dodge, St. Austle, Cornwall, saddler.

FORSTER, S., L. Smith, and J. Jewitt, Man- chester, cotton-spinners.

GODSON, S., Devonshire-street, Bishopsgate, wine-merchant.

HARTLEY, R., and R. S. Farr, St. John-st., West Smithfield, chemists.

IVESON, F., Beverley, Yorkshire, dealer.

MAKIN, R., sen., R. Makin, jun., and L. Makin, Liverpool, corn-merchants.

RILEY, S., Farnley, Yorkshire, clothier.

WALTER, S. E., Madeley, Shropsh., printer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

PETERSON, P., Glasgow, writer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, May 5.— We have been liberally supplied with Wheat from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, fresh up to

this morning's market, which, with the quantity left over from last week, caused the stands to exhibit a good show of samples. The market was again thinly attended by buyers, and millers evincing little disposition to purchase beyond their immediate wants, rendered the trade extremely heavy; even the finer descriptions experienced a slow sale at a decline of 1s. to 2s., and all other descriptions were difficult of disposal, at a reduction of full 2s. from the rates of this day se'nnight. In bonded Corn nothing doing.

Barley continuing in short supply, needy customers took off the better descriptions of malting quality at rather better prices than this day week, distilling and grinding sorts also supported steadily their former rates.

There was not much doing in Malt, but no alteration was made in the quotations.

The arrival of Oats from Ireland was large, and liberal from Scotland, but extremely limited from England. The market opened heavily, but improved towards the close, when the article experienced a steady sale, at nearly as good prices as last Monday.

Beans were dull, and 1s. cheaper.

Peas of all descriptions come very sparingly to hand, and prices are fully supported.

The Flour trade ruled dull, and ship qualities barely maintained their previous prices.

Wheat	45s. to 57s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	22s. to 24s.
— fine	28s. to 30s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	32s. to 37s.
— Grey	30s. to 33s.
Beans, Small	31s. to 37s.
— Tick	26s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 23s.
— Feed	16s. to 19s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 46s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	95s. to 100s.
— Mess, new	50s. to 55s. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast	66s. to 70s. per cwt.
— Carlow	50s. to 70s.
— Cork	—s. to 62s.
— Limerick	—s. to 62s.
— Waterford	50s. to 70s.
— Dublin	44s. to 46s.

SMITHFIELD, May 5.

This day's supply of Beasts, was, for the time of year, moderately good; its supply of Sheep, Lambs, Calves, and Porkers, rather limited. Trade was, with prime small Mutton and Lamb, somewhat brisk; with the larger and inferior kinds, as also with Beef, Veal, and Pork, very dull, at Friday's prices.

About a third of the beasts appeared to be Scots; the remaining two-thirds about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, with, perhaps, 100 Herefords, fifty Norfolk home-breds, as many Sussex, the same

number of Irish beasts, as many Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

About two-fifths of the Sheep were South-Downs; about the same number new Leicesters, of the South-Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about one of the former to three of the latter; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About a moiety of the Lambs, the whole of which were supposed to number about 4,000, were South-Downs, the remainder about equal numbers of Dorsets, and new Leicesters, of mixed crosses, with a few Kentish half-breds, nondescripts, &c.

About 1,800 of the beasts, a full moiety of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, interspersed with a few home-breds, &c., about 100, chiefly short-horns, with a few Devons, runts, and Herefords, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, &c.; about eighty, chiefly Devons and runts, with a few Herefords and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 100, chiefly Sussex beasts, with a few Devons, runts, Scots, and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 9.

The arrivals this week are moderate, and the prices fully as high as on Monday.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	Fri. 92	Sat. 92	Mon. 92	Tues. 92		Wed. 92	Thur. 92

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FOR MAY,

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"This publication, with rather a rough exterior, has very good matter in it. It is, by far, the very best Radical shilling's worth that we have ever seen in the literary market. Its politics are evidently written by an honest and earnest man with good feelings in him. It is quite the opposite of impertinence, aping philosophy that we see in the trashy things which affect science and republicanism. We must have an extract from its political article soon; meanwhile, let our readers rejoice over the following admirable passage in an article on 'Shakspeare and his Prefacers.'—*The Albion, Evening Paper*, (of Tory politics).

"This periodical has, at the suggestion of the honourable Member for Oldham, who it appears from a clever address by the editor, promises to contribute articles, assumed its present designation. It exhibits no failing off in the merit and tact of its contributors."—*Morning Advertiser*. (A Radical Morning Paper).

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to be valued accordingly. We are again happy to meet the author of 'Old Bailey Experience.' His 'Criminal Characters' in the present number embrace Feun. What a scene of horror, what a moral lazar-house does the writer exhibit to us! His remarks on the abused 'pardon power' of the King are deeply important. Law-makers and law-breakers should read this series."—*The Sunday Herald and United Kingdom*.

"The *Shilling Magazine* is a sobriquet, and rather a good one, for *Cobbett's Magazine*. Mr. Cobbett has to write articles for it."—*Bell's Weekly Magazine*.

"When we suggested, three or four weeks ago, that the periodical then known as *Cobbett's Magazine*, should in future be entitled *The Cobbett Magazine*, little did we think that a still greater change was contemplated, and to find for May *The Shilling Magazine* substituted for *Cobbett's Magazine*. We most frankly say we like not the change. It is a bad imitation of a bad precedent. Indeed, so strongly do we feel this, that we yet hope the name of this work will become *The Cobbett Magazine*. In other respects the Magazine is, perhaps, as amusing as heretofore, although we must confess the new name has jaundiced our perception."—*The Old England*.

"It loses little of its value by the lowering of its price."—*The Town Journal*.

"*The Shilling Magazine* is amusing as usual."—*Sunday Times*.

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